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COMMENTS

The address delivered by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, as President of the third session of the National Liberal Federation, was bolder than the addresses we have been accustomed to hear from the Moderate platforms. His criticism of the policy of the Government was strong and unsparing. But Mr. Chintamani's remedy for all our ills is to work the Reform Act successfully. This sort of Reform Act mania has become intolerable to us. In the matter of the Punjab tragedy, the Esher report, the Lovett report and on various other questions, the President was outspoken in his condemnation of the policy of the Government. But does not our self-respect demand that before we talk of co-operation with that Government, we must compel it to come down from its lofty height and acknowledge its mistake? At present, all talk of co-operation is on the side of the Moderates while the Government, by its silence, does not seem to care for it. If the appointment of some Moderate lambs as Ministers is pointed to as an indication of goodwill on the part of the Government, then we bid good-bye to the moderate school because there is no common basis for discussion at all.

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The tendency which was lately manifested in certain quarters to vote for some resolution at the Congress in moments of enthusiasm and then to get out of the difficulty by giving new interpretations to it has already begun. In an article in the *Hindu* on the Nagpur Congress, it says that "the sacred cause of education is not hampered" by the resolution on Non-Co-operation passed at Nagpur. This is unintelligible to us. We have never been able to find out any material difference in the matter between the Calcutta resolution and the Nagpur resolution. An impartial authority, *The Indian Social Reformer* says that the new resolutions are only "amplified" not "modified." The only modification is with regard to boys under sixteen, who are to be compelled through their parents. Again, the *Hindu* and Mr. C. R. Das are of opinion that the resolution at Nagpur is far more effective than the one passed at Calcutta. They opposed the Calcutta programme because, it was stated, it was too effective. How, then, do they support a programme which has been rendered still more effective according to their own statements? It is all a puzzle to the plain man.

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If it is contended that there is some mystic meaning behind the plain words and that they are capable of different interpretations, then we make bold to say that the Congress has done the country a disservice. A resolution must be very clearly and plainly worded so that there may be no mistaking its meaning. When the masses of India are taking greater interest in politics, it is not wise to confuse them by quibbles and subterfuges. Our own idea is that many leaders who fought shy of the Calcutta programme have been converted by Mr. Gandhi to his views but, the pity of it is, these leaders are deluding themselves under the belief that they are steady. If they face the country with their interpretations, they will know where they are. If they honestly confess that, after deep consideration, they preferred to eat their own words and swim with the current, because of the painful experience which two gems of this party had in their recent lecturing tour in the South, that is another matter. We shall admire their outspokenness though we may not respect their judgment.

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To those of our readers who may be inclined to think that we are hyper-critical, we owe a word of explanation. It is not our object to spite any man or party because we bear no ill-will towards anybody. India is passing through a crisis in her history. The Non-Co-operation resolution passed at Nagpur asks young men of 16 and above to withdraw themselves from schools irrespective of consequences and place themselves at the disposal of leaders for national service or otherwise. It is a public duty to point out that

those who change their opinions as they change their shirts are not the proper persons whom our young men may confidently rely upon and take serious risks. We may be pardoned for saying that the carrying out of the Nagpur programme effectively is not a light matter and it is well to recognise the unwisdom of trusting those who, for professional or party purposes, affect to stand by Mr. Gandhi. Let our young friends first select the true leaders among the motley crowd who now sail under that colour.

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The Presidential address delivered by Dr. M. A. Ansari at the All—India Muslim League is entirely devoted to the Khilafat question. Dr. Ansari points out with much reason, how the Turkish treaty is the greatest travesty of justice and analyses its clauses in detail. Coming to Non-Cooperation, the Muslim leader says that it is not a new idea but it is a clear injunction of the Divine Shariat. It is only to be expected that one who believes so would have concentious objection to cooperate with the Government in any way. We are not therefore surprised at the President's emphatic support of the Calcutta programme. As regards the suggestion for a Conference of leaders which we believe, emanated from Col. Wedgwood, the President says that no good purpose will be served by attempting any *reproachment* "before there has been a complete vindication of the people's honour and dignity." The Muslim League passed resolutions on the lines of the Congress but in one or two instances, even more strongly than the Congress.

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The Indian Christian Congress which met at Calcutta passed some resolutious protesting against the Non-Co-operation movement and reserving its judgment as to the advisability of either joining or refraining from joining the Congress. The Indian Christian community is an educated community and it has always been considered to be a very loyal community. Indeed, it has its own grievances against the Government. Though christians as a whole have not generally taken much interest in politics, a good number of them have taken and are still taking a leading part in the Congress movement. We should think it an acquisition to the Congress if the christian community, whatever may be its feeling in regard to the change in the congress constitution, joins it. The time is not far distant when Anglo-Indians (Eurasians) will see the wisdom of taking part in Indian politics realising that their happiness is bound up with the happiness of the other communities in India.

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It is a great credit to this Presidency that the first Conference of ladies in India for the purpose of considering their wants and their grievances met here in the Senate Hall on December, 28,1920. The report says that the Conference was a great success as regards numbers, thought, expedition of business, quietness of proceedings and tasteful decoration of the Hall. Indian ladies are queens in their household and they exercise such great and wholesome influence over their husbands that it is impossible to say how much they give and how much they take. We have heard several renowned foreigners saying that, in no country in the world has the ideal of Indian womanhood been reached. Their power for sacrifice is great and is certain to achieve for them whatever they need. We are glad to note that the ladies who met in Conference have passed several useful resolutions bearing on their health, education, on the lot of the poor women labourers and one for raising the marriageable age of girls. They also demand the removal of the disqualification of sex from all franchises. We pray that the organisation may grow in influence and that the ladies will be in a position to take vigilant care of their own interests.

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The last week of December was so full of Conferences that it is impossible, within the space at our disposal, to notice even the more important among them. The All-India Students Conference at Nagpur, under the Presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai, decided to support Mr. Gandhi. Then there was the Muslim Educational Conference which spoke against non-co-operation. In our own city, we had two very interesting Conferences *viz.* The Madras Social Service Conference and the Theosophical Convention. In each one of these Conferences, in a greater or lesser degree, the keynote of the speeches is service. If from each one of these centres there radiates an atmosphere of service and sacrifice and if the people of India make a resolve to carry out, in their own daily lives, what they often hear in platforms, then we cannot have too much of these conferences in our country. But, if all these only tend to increase in our people the craze for speechifying, the mania to address meetings and to deliver lectures without a proportionate amount of earnest sacrifice, then they are evil. As it is, we have no doubt that many of our countrymen are profitted by these Conferences.

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Col. Wedgwood M. P. says that his impressions of the Nagpur Congress are not altogather favourable. The Congress was too large for any deliberative purpose and the Subjects Committee, says the Colonel, were too confined to one point of view. He is of opinion that Mr Gandhi's movement tends to become a movement more against western civilisation than against western rule. What was hopeful to the Colonel was that Mr Gandhi's hold upon the masses is so strong

and so founded upon profound religious views that it may be possible to prevent violence creeping into the agitation. We are thankful to the Colonel for this small mercy.

* * *

The so-called new era created by the Reform Act has, at least, begun well in Bengal. His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay has ordered the release of all State prisoners who were detained under Regulation III in commemoration of the inauguration of the new form of Government in Bengal. This is good so far as it goes. We do hope that other Governors will copy Lord Ronaldshay's example and release all political prisoners, if any. This advice we must particularly give to Sir Reginald Craddack whose Government has launched a prosecution against both the editor and the publisher of the *Rangoon Mail*. If our rulers were only wise, they would repeal the Rowlatt Act, the Press Act and all other acts restricting the liberties of the people as an earnest of the new era which, we are told, has dawned upon this country.

* * *

Sir J. C. Bose, the world-renowned scientist in addressing the students of Bombay made the following pregnant observations :—

" He asked them not to waste their energies in talk but to conserve and concentrate them for realising their highest aim in life."

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The London *Times* says that the Irish negotiations have partially broken down owing to the refusal of the advanced Sinn Feiners to give a more effective guarantee than a mere truce.

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Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar, in closing the session of the Congress at Nagpur, gave the story of a woman who attempted to beat back the rushing ocean with her broom. We suppose this is an improvement on Mrs. Partington's attempt.

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THE NAGPUR CONGRESS AND AFTER.

The Indian National Congress, which has just concluded its 35th session at Nagpur, was remarkable in many ways. It was a record gathering of almost all the best men of India, her statesmen, patriots, journalists, lawyers, doctors, farmers and merchants with a sprinkling of Sanyasis and Europeans. It is of happy augury for the future of India that the service of the motherland should draw together such a magnificent number of delegates from far and near-men with whom money and comfort were as nothing against the call of the country. This session is a sufficient answer to the voices of calumny which declare that the National Congress has ceased to represent the will of the majority of our country . The most prominent features of this session are the significent change in the creed of the Congress, the sense of patriotism and responsibility which influenced the contending parties to compose their differences by a policy of give and take and the wording of all the resolutions in accordance with the principle of Non-Co-operation. Mr. Gandhi was, as usual, the soul and the delight of the Congress.

The Presidential address delivered by Mr. C. Vijayaraghvachariar maintains his reputation for manly patriotism and vigorous independence of thought. After pointing out the need for a written declaration of rights, the President defines the goal of India as Responsible Government like that of the United Kingdom and of the Self-Governing Dominions. Then follows a masterly analysis of the preamble to the Government of India Act, 1919 and a scathing denunciation of the assumption of Parliament to pass such a preamble as though Indians are " the slave and property of the people of England." In the first part of the address where the President criticises the Reform Act " as a new and perilous utopia " and dissects the causes of the present discontents in India, he has displayed a knowledge of history and of politics and a critical acumen which mark him out as a sound and well read man. His description of the present unhappy position of Indians is both earnest and eloquent. Coming to Non-Co-operation, Mr. Achariar accepts the principle of Non-Co-operation as a means to the end of achieving immediate responsible Government. He dismisses as of no consequence the boycott of titles and honorary offices, says that the boycott of Councils is no longer a live issue and declares himself against the boycott of courts and of schools. With regard to the important question of changing the Congress creed, the President observes that " dispassionate reason and inspiring precedent have ever sustained me in my irresistible life-long conviction that the independence of India in partnership with England would be in every way and in every interest by far greater than her independence in absolute separation from her and in isolation." His alternative programme is nation-building which is to be achieved by educating the masses, by elevating the depressed classes, by organising labour and by starving the foreign exploiter and by a gradual boycott of all foreign goods. We need hardly say that we are in general agreement with the greater portion of the address. His alternative programme might have been delivered from any Moderate platform. It could easily have been better. In pointing out the evils of national regimentation, the President relies on some historical fallacies and unintelligible theories borrowed from other countries but beneath these superficial defects of commission, rather

than of omission, there is an undercurrent of sincerity. On the whole, it is an able address.

The National Congress, in spite of the Presidential address to the contrary, has voted for the new creed proposed by Mr. Gandhi and his party as well as for the forms of Non-Co-operation adumbrated at the Special Congress at Calcutta. The long resolution on Non-Co-operation that has been passed at Nagpur does not differ in any material respect from the one passed at the Special Congress. We therefore fail to see how some of the leaders, particularly of Madras and Bengal, who waxed eloquent against the principle of the boycott of schools and of courts, supported the Nagpur resolution. If the argument hitherto was that these two steps were pre-mature, we can understand their conversion. But the reason why Mr. Kasturiranga Aiyengar and his party opposed the Calcutta programme was understood by us to be due to their inability to endorse the principle of the boycott of schools. Under the circumstances we can only say that the conversion of these leaders is only a dignified name for a weak surrender of their principle. We do not know if Mr. Achariar agrees with the views of the Congress now or sticks up to his own view as defined in his address.* As for ourselves we might repeat that the policy of this paper is to support every programme of work which will promote the best interests of India, be it Non-Co-operation, agitation or anything else, and to oppose every measure which, in our opinion, is suicidal to our advancement, whether it emanates from the Government or the Congress. It is in that spirit that we base the following opinion.

The change in the creed of the Congress does not disturb our equanimity. Ours is a passive attitude in this affair. If the new creed had definitely stated that the British connection is unnecessary, we should have hesitated to support such a change. Our point has always been that a nation has a perfect right to work for any form of Government which it thinks will suit its interest and that, in consideration of the callous attitude of our rulers, the nation must do something striking which will be expressive of its strong feeling. We believe that Britain has as much interest in maintaining her connection with India as the latter and that it is always open to her to redress our wrongs and to create in us a love for that connection. With regard to the boycott of schools, we still consider that it is suicidal to our interests. We are also unable to agree with the mandate of the Congress defining what our attitude should be towards the new Councils and Councillors. The boycott of Courts may be tried, more emphasis being laid on the constructive side *viz.* the establishment of Arbitration courts. With regard to the other resolutions passed by the Nagpur Congress, we are in general agreement.

* His closing speech very cleverly avoids this issue.

The Congress ever since its birth has always been led by one outstanding personality. At one time it was Mehta then successively Gokhale, Besant, and Tilak. To-day it is led by Mr. Gandhi. We hope that all those who voted for the resolutions at Nagpur realised their true significance and far-reaching consequences to the future of India. We also hope that, under the guidance of the present leader, the goal of India will be achieved very shortly bringing liberty and happiness to the teeming millions of this wonderful land.

NATION BUILDING.

The President of the National Congress gave the following alternative programme of work for achieving our goal :—

You would all naturally ask me what then should be our programme if this programme is not adopted by us any longer. I will make an honest endeavour to give you an answer. In one word it is nation-building. We must take to nation-building at once, on a scale and in a manner to make up for lost time and fully equal to meet the situation as well caused by our own torpidity and hibernation of energies for centuries as by the bad faith and misconduct by our rulers. We are bent and rightly so on having immediate responsible government for our state. But let us not forget that the state is not quite the nation and the nation is not quite the state. The state is an instrument for the purpose of the development and welfare of the nation. At the same time the healthy growth of both depends upon their interaction. If, therefore, we would have the best form of Government and adapt it and develop it so as to suit the genius of the people of this country, we should renovate the people in as great a perfection as it is possible for us to do without the true state to begin with. Great progress has been made since the Congress was started in the way of the unification of the people and the mobilisation and augmentation of the national comaraderie of spirit. Thank God, the cumulative effect of all the misfortunes that have recently overtaken the entire country has done more to unite us than centuries of universal national education and mission work for the purpose could have effected and this involuntary process of national unification is greatly expanded and intensified under the auspices of Mahatmaji Gandhi and the stalwart patriots who are co-operating with him : our everlasting gratitude and that of our children unborn is due to him and to them for this great and glorious service to our motherland. But yet we are not fully

as great and vital a nation as we may well be and processes of further renovation must be immediately thought of by us and adopted and put into effect. The first and foremost is the education of the masses in as large and fast expanding a scale as we can endeavour to achieve. The Congress must at once appoint one special committee with power to appoint sub-committees charged with this important business and nothing else. They must collect funds and appoint active missionaries for starting vernacular schools by day and night for the benefit of labourers, for holding lectures, demonstrations and so forth. Then we must deal with problems of our men abroad, especially in the British Colonies. We must attend to the question of their immediate repatriation. This country needs the activities, both mental and bodily, of all her children for the development of our resources to the highest degree in the light of modern science. Then there is the question of labour organization and missions for the elevation of the depressed classes. The country has been hitherto altogether neglecting the vital problem of the amelioration of sections of our countrymen and countrywomen designated as " Criminal tribes" and "Criminal classes." These are all subject to harassing and humiliating special laws. Congress must appoint committees for the purpose of starting and co-operating in movements in connection with all these problems. I think the Social Reformers will take care of themselves but the Congress must extend their right hand of sympathy and good fellowship towards them. All these activities should be on a thoroughly organized basis and on a progressive efficient scale.

RENOVATION OF INDIA.

I also desire that the scheme for the entire renovation of India includes a negative aspect to which I would call your attention specially. With the people of India thus renovated, if not reborn, into a nation, well knit and vital, we have the means of converting not simply the personnel of the bureaucratic Government but what is still more important the non-official English exploiters of our country as well into a new angle of vision. With this scheme, we can starve the English planters, the English merchants, traders and manufacturers in our country with increasing scarcity of labour into gradual exhaustion and into a satisfactory mentality towards us. And this will also give us power in reserve to produce national strikes of inferior and unskilled workmen in Railways, Posts and Telegraph departments and so forth. Let us remember that the great bible of the Englishmen is the financial code. Financial statistics which show loss of income and which threaten progressive loss of income have far greater effect on the mental outlook and on the moral calibre of the average Englishman than any other weapon we can concieve of. I desire that we intentionally and with set purpose make provision for gradually and rapidly affecting the income of the English exploiter in India and even of England in so far as India is her market and supplier of raw produce, in all legitimate ways, immediately by organizing labour, especially unskilled labour, for the economic advancement of India at an accelerated speed and calculated at the same time to starve the foreign exploiter as stated above. The Congress must appoint a select committee of experts with power to form branch committees throughout the country for making suitable arrangements for the gradual boycott of foreign goods and for stoppage of exportation of raw produce. I consider this is the most effective method of converting Englishmen into our friends at least into a sense of justice for us. Let us not forget that the English exploiters, non-official much more than official, form a sort of moral Ulster in India without a geographical unit. Our first duty therefore is to recognise this fact. We have been too long negligent of this phenomenon in spite of warnings from the days of Lord Ripon. The weakness of the English exploiter not to speak of the whole nation, is money, finance if you like. We must attack him there if we desire to attack him with any success at all. A witty Frenchman once said that the Englishman would rather forgive parricide than the theft of a penny. Let us remember that once upon a time England punished murder with fine while it hanged people for robbery and forgery. Parnell hit the right nail when he, with grim humour, said that in a composite British army of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen, the Irish broke the line of the enemy, then came the Scots and took the prisoners, last came the English and picked up the booty. A far greater and more serious authority is also available on the point. Burke says that the English idea of liberty is not abstract but inherent in some sensible object and that almost every nation has some favourite point which is the criterion of their liberty and that the English sensible object with which their idea of freedom is indissolubly connected is money.

NON-CO-OPERATION.

The following is the full text of the resolution passed at Nagpur :—Whereas, in the opinion of the Congress, the existing Government of India has forfeited the confidence of the country ;

And whereas the people of India are now determined to establish Swaraj ;

And whereas all methods adopted by the people of India, prior to the last Special Sessions of the Indian National Congress, have failed to secure due

recognition of their rights and liberties and redress of their many and grievous wrongs, more specially in reference to the Khilafat and the Punjab ;

Now this Congress, while reaffirming the resolution of non-violent Non-Co-operation passed at the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta, declares that the entire, or any part, or parts of the scheme of non-violent Non-Co-operation, with the renunciation of voluntary association with the present Government at one end and the refusal to pay taxes at the other, should be put in force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress or the All-India Congress Committee and that, in the meanwhile, to prepare the country for it, effective steps should continue to be a taken in that behalf :

(A) by calling upon the parents and guardians of school children (and not the children themselves) under the age of 16 years, to make greater efforts for the purpose of withdrawing them from such schools as are owned, aided or in any way controlled by the Government, and concurrently to provide for their training in National schools, or by such other means as may be within their power, in the absence of such schools.

(B) By calling upon students of the age of 16 and over, to withdraw without delay, irrespective of consequences, from institutions owned, aided or in any way controlled by the Government if they feel that it is against their conscience to continue in institutions which are dominated by a system of Government which the Nation has solemnly resolved to bring to an end, advising such students either to devote themselves to some special service in connection with the Non-Co-operation movement or to continue their education in National institutions.

(C) By calling upon trustees, managers and teachers of Government affiliated or aided schools and Municipalities and Local Boards to help to nationalise them.

(D) By calling upon lawyers to make greater efforts to suspend their practice and to devote their attention to National service, including the boycott of law courts by litigants and fellow-lawyers and the settlement of disputes by private arbitration.

(E) In order to make India economically independent and self-contained, by calling upon merchants and traders to carry out a gradual boycott of foreign trade relations, to encourge hand-spinning and hand-weaving, and in that behalf by having a scheme of economic boycott planned and formulated by a Committee of experts to be nominated by the All-India Congress Committee.

(F) And generally, inasmuch as self-sacrifice is essential to the success of Non-Co-operation by calling upon every section and every man and woman in the country to make the utmost possible contribution of self-sacrifice to the National movement.

(G) By organising committees in each villages or group of villages with a provincial central organisation in the principal cities of each province for the purpose of accelerating the progress of Non-Co-operation.

(H) By organising a band of National workers for a service to be called the Indian National Service.

(I) By taking effective steps to raise a National fund to be called the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund for the purpose of financing the foregoing national service and the Non-Co-operation movement in general.

This Congress congratulates the Nation upon the progress made so far in working the programme of Non-Co-operation, specially with regard to the boycott of Councils by the voters and claims in the circumstances in which they have been brought into existence that the new Councils do not represent the country and trusts to those who have allowed themselves to be elected in spite of the deliberate abstention from the polls of an overwhelming majority of their constituents, will see their way to resign their seats in the Councils, and if they retain their seats in spite of the declared wish of their respective constituencies, in direct negation of the principle of democracy, the electors will studiously refrain from asking for any political service from such Councillors.

This Congress appreciates the growing friendliness between the police and the soldiery and the people, and hopes that the former will refuse to subordinate their creed and country to the fulfilment of orders of their officers, and by courteous and considerate behaviour towards the people, will remove the reproach hitherto levelled against them that they are devoid of any regard for the feeling and sentiments of their own people, and this Congress appeals to all people in Government employment pending the call of the Nation for resignation of their service to help the national cause by importing greater kindness and stricter honesty in their dealings with their people.

And fearlessly and openly to attend all popular gatherings, while refraining from taking any active part therein and more specially by openly rendering financial assistance to the National movement.

This Congress lays special emphasis on non-violence being an integreal part of the Non-Co-operation resolution, and invites the attention of the people to the fact that non-violence in word and deed is as essential between people themselves as in respect of the Government, and this Congress is of opinion that the spirit of violence is not only contrary to the growth

of a true spirit of democracy, but actually retards the enforcement, if necessary, of the other stages of Non-Co-operation.

Finally, in order that the Khilafat and the Panjab wrongs may be redressed, and Swaraj established within one year, this Congress urges upon all public bodies, whether affiliated to the Congress or otherwise, to devote their exclusive attention to the promotion of non-violence and Non-Co-operation with the Government, and inasmuch as the movement of Non-Co-operation can only succeed by complete co-operation amongst the people themselves, this Congress calls upon public associations to advance Hindu-Muslim unity and the Hindu delegates of this Congress to call upon the leading Hindus to settle all disputes between Brahmanas and Non-Brahmanas wherever they may be existing, and to make a special effort to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability and respectfully urges the religious heads to help the growing desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the suppressed classes.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF A KISS.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

Essay-titles mislead many ; so will mine. It is not the 'love's seal' of one within teens that I am writing of—not even the physical facial contact of a dear partner in '*life's ways.*' The subject of my study is nobler, deals with *inter-relation* between man and man, the communion that *sometimes* expresses itself in the trembling lips, a sweet honest embrace and an imprint on the responsive cheek.

Mother's love for her offspring is genuine and common. The child is the affectionate progeny of two identifying souls. It is their substantial product. It smiles from its bed of thighs ; as it feeds on the breast its little eyes twinkle and lips move in innocent laughter. The mother's hands instinctively bring up the child to her face. The motions end with a press and a sweet kiss. Oh! what a triumph of human feelings.

The love between man and man is another aspect of the same mental stir. Friendship, intimacy are only its synonyms. It is expressed in the sincere lustre of two eyes and the passionate glow which indicates the satisfacation at the appearance of a dear individual. To possess an intellectual companion, to enjoy the real spiritual union born of uniformity of taste and conviction is given only to a few. It is a strange no less happy coincidence. It does not stop with a formal shake of hands. It may be an affectionate patting on the back, a stupefying look in the face, sometimes the height of intimacy reaches in a kiss. It is the psychology of this, that is puzzling to many.

It was after an enforced exile of some years that I met my dear *aged* friend. Himself an highly placed officer remarkable for his purity of taste and expression, the apparently aged figure exhibited a youthful intellect. Happy hours of discussion spent with him are the best portion of my life. It was a half-rainy evening when I met the gentleman returning from office. He was comfortably placed in his *Victoria*. Our eyes met. A 'halt' call to the driver was almost on his lips but his bungalow was only a few yards off. To see his face was a real study. A gentleman on the wrong side of fifty, suddenly moved by the sight of a considerable young friend, love for an old mate overpowering him, the innocent horse dragging his carriage with all its speed to its master's, he looked a passive optimist accepting his fate. His eyes shed love, hands trembled and his head projected in the act of reception. The carriage stopped under the portico. He descended and a few seconds passed before I reached his arm's length. He caught me by the hands. We exchanged look for a time. Climbing up the steps the old friend felt the irresistable force of his emotion. He embraced and our hands parted with a kiss when he whispered "Do you think, my boy, you are too aged to be kissed *now.*" I nodded negation.

A similar event has not happened in my life hitherto. To attibute to a gentleman of fifty anything but the noblest of emotions would be a sacrilege. It is a meeting of the hearts—nothing more, nothing less.

AFTER-NOON.

The sun enfolds the world in light.
  A pale blue haze spreads over the sky.
The trees are crowned with branches bright,
  And not a bird now dares to fly.
Beneath the trees, the shadows chase
  Dead leaves spun round and round in play
By wind that in some corner stays
  To flirt with flowers on the way.
The woods are still ; no sound is heard,
  And hushed in sleep seems every bird.

STREET-SCENES.

The whirling sun shoots sparks of light,
  And kindles earth to blazing white.
The creak of wheels along the road,
  The labourer straining under his load,
The shouts of tramping passers-by,
  The horses that at shadows shy,
The casuarinas that uprear
  Their massive trunks which leafage bear,
Flit through my fancies like a blade,
  And in the whisperings of the shade
I hear the angel-voices sing.
  Birds seek their nests with drooping wing.
Mists float before mine eyes in streams,
  And speed me to the land of dreams.

K. G. Sankara.

REVIEWS.

The Dawn over Asia.—By Paul Richard. Translated from the French by Mr. Aurobindo Ghose. Ganesh & Co., Madras.

This attractive little book embodies the English translation of several addresses delivered by Mr. Paul Richard in Japan. Mr. Richard is a sort of mystic who believes fervently that he has a message to deliver to the world. To those who are acquainted with his work "To the Nations", the trend of ideas which he develops in the present volume will be very familiar. There are on the whole seven lectures in this series which includes one on Aurobindo Ghose. The constitution of the League for the Equality of Races is given as an appendix to this volume. The author says that it is not for Asia to turn to Europe for inspiration but it is the duty of Asia to deliver Europe from the bloodstained vanity of race. The volume contains many splendid and striking passages which are of universal application and which need reiteration in the present chaotic condition of the world. This is an inspiring work.

Constructive Non-co-operation.—By M. Asaf Ali. Ganesh & Co. Madras.

For good or for evil, the Non-Co-peration movement has come to stay. If it is suppressed to-day, it will emerge in another form to-morrow unless and until the nation is satisfied that it has achieved all its reasonable demands and the distrust of the British people is changed into trust and confidence. At one time it was thought that the Non-Co-operation movement will die of inanition but the growing feeling in the country and the increasing volume of public opinion, as evidenced at Nagpur recently, which accepts the principle of Non-Co-operation though differing in methods give the lie direct to such an assumption. Since Mr. Gandhi announced his scheme of Non-Co-operation the only matter on which the country was divided was with regard to the programme. We therefore welcome with peculiar pleasure a brochure which attempts to place before the country some constructive suggestions. Mr. Asaf Ali divides his scheme into various compartments such as the Panchayat, Justice, Peace and Order and Education and Finance. His criticisms and suggestions come with the authority of one who has taken part in politics and who can claim to know his people well. Although we do not agree with everything that he says, we welcome this book as contributing to the formation of a sound working programme of Non-Co-operation.

THE MODERN REVIEW.

The January number of *The Modern Review*, is a bulky volume of 152 pages which is crammed with contributions from eminent writers on political literary, historical and educational subjects. There are more than 20 original articles in this issue, among the contributors being Prof. Jadunath Sirkar, Dr. Sudidra Bose, C. F. Andrews, Frederick Grubb Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee Dr. Ranjani Kanta Das, Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar and many others. The talented editor writes his notes in his usual terse and severely impartial way. The new feature that has been introduced is "Cartoons of the day." The get up of the journal compares very favourably with its English rivals. Mr. R. Chatterjee is doing a great service to the country by bringing out such a high class journal and by adding 50 per cent. more than the usual number of pages in these days of the high cost of paper.

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